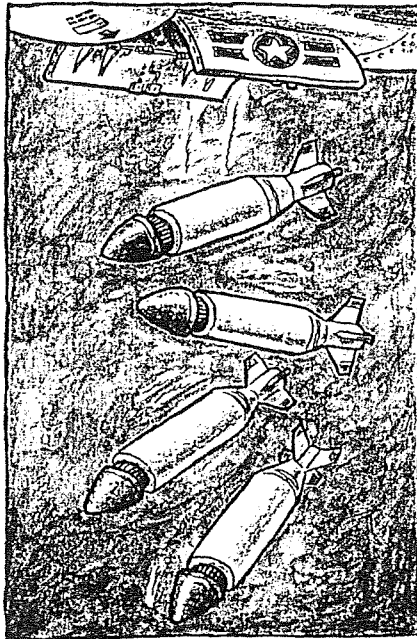
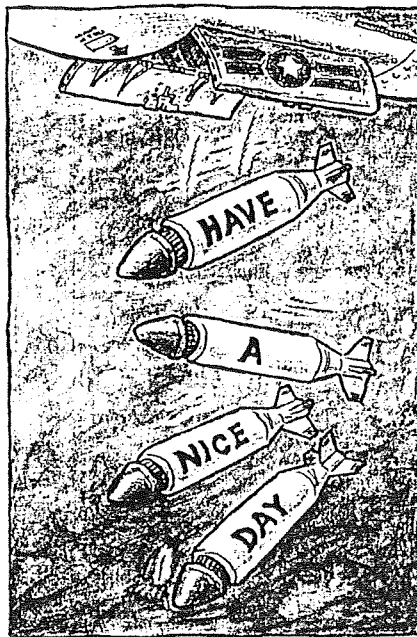


Aotearoa Youth Network

OLD WORLD ORDER



NEW WORLD ORDER



December 1993, Number 7

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Deadly Business - The Arms Trade in Aotearoa

It is important for us to understand that war is waged to defend and expand power and privilege. It decorates the bloodshed in political, religious or nationalist rhetoric - but the driving force still remains power and privilege.

In September, the Anti-Bases Campaign was able to host Owen Wilkes, a foremost researcher on the Arms Industry in New Zealand, to direct a workshop on New Zealanders participation in such trades. Entitled "Deadly Business", Owen gave a history and outline of New Zealand government and corporate involvement in the arms trade to a captive audience of forty. The seminar was an expansion and update on his article in the September 1991 edition of Peacelink.

Since that article was written and despite the diffusion of power in US domains, the collapse of the Soviet Empire and the trimming of some obsolete nuclear weapons systems, the Asian and Pacific military budgets are the fastest growing in the world. Corporations are taking advantage of the climate, suppling Arms demands with no pangs of conscience as to on whom they will be used. New Zealand corporations are no exception.

With little dissent from the Peace Movement, Osmar International has reaped big profits from Low Intensity Conflict.

"Low Intensity Conflict, by definition, is that amount of murder, mutilation, torture, rape and savagery that is sustainable without triggering widespread disapproval at home... or to put it in another way, Low Intensity Conflict is the ultimate in "yuppie" warfare - it allows privileged Americans/Europeans/Japanese/New Zealanders to go on buying condominiums, wearing chic designer

expensive restaurants, and generally living in style without risking their own lives. Without facing conscription, without paying higher taxes, and, most important, without being overly distracted by grisly scenes on the television set." (M. Klare "Christianity and Crisis")

Osmar provides the Indonesian military (as well as other military regimes) with the Infant Weapons Effect Simulator - a gun used for military training which shoots laser beams. A laser light detector on the 'victim' is able to determine which part of the body has been hit and what injuries would be sustained. Laserbeams are easily replaced with ammunition. Thus the Indonesian military improves its chances of a direct hit on East Timorese, Aceh men, women and children. Amnesty international reports that the systematic abuse of these civilian populations continue to go on unchecked.

several armed forces including the Philippines and the US for the maintenance and overhaul of military aircraft. Safe Air (of whom 70-80% of its business is military) has updated the New Zealand Skyhawks and flew one to S.E. Asia to demonstrate the potential to Asian buyers. Owen was able to chronicle many more examples.

Finally, made obvious was that the New Zealand government and corporate sectors continued push for an increased slice of the world's arms market must be resisted. In the face of the horrors of modern warfare, our true solidarity and commitments lie with sisters and brothers under fire in the Third World and those of us in the First World who resist such "deadly business".

- Moana Cole.



Anti-Bases Campaign

Another major player in the Arms Profiteering business is Air New Zealand. it has contracts with

P O Box 2258 Christchurch.

CAFCA REPLY TO BOLSHEVIK CLUB CRITICISM

This is written in response to the article by Marinus Le Rooij in last month's AYN.

First, there is no truth in the charge that we promote New Zealand capitalism. Instead, we have tackled local Big Business with the same ferocity that we reserved for multinationals. The only difference is one of scale. New Zealand has spawned authentic multinationals, like Fletchers, Carters and Brierleys. We sure as hell don't support them exploiting the people of this country or anywhere else. (It's worth noting that all three of these "New Zealand" companies are now heavily or totally foreign controlled).

CAFCA continually makes the point that it is the multi-national corporations of the US, Japan, UK etc that it opposes, not the people of these countries. In fact CAFCA recognises the great value in linking with people in those countries fighting the same enemy: it has, and nurtures, close and long-standing relationships with people and organisations in a number of countries.

There is validity in the argument that we don't tackle capitalism per se. But we specialise in imperialism, which Lenin called the "highest stage of capitalism". We go after the mongrel not the fleas.

over the means of production, others implemented protective measures such as import controls, tariffs and subsidies to local industry.

Socialism? Protection? Import controls? These ring warning bells in the New World Order: haven't we been convinced that they are impractical, inefficient or just plain obsolete? The Trotskyist view and that of the New Right are now in accord. They both hold that national sovereignty is at best irrelevant, at worst a barrier in the road of progress.

The problem with the Trotskyist argument is that it is utopian. It says



As for racism, we reject it utterly. We have no argument with the people of any country, but only with the multinationals nominally headquartered somewhere; the governments of these countries; and our own political and business collaborators who sell out their own people.

There was a time when the left was largely united in its attitude towards imperialism: it was something that could be fought, and should be fought, in order to build socialism in a country. A country had to be defended against marauders, whether militaristic or economic. Some countries did this by taking

that political change will only come about in an ideal world where the entire working class world-wide, simultaneously, unite against their perspective rulers. We must wait for the whole world to rise up before we can change anything for ourselves. This isn't revolutionary, permanent or otherwise, it is no more than defeatism dressed up as

Marxism.

The fact is that every country is at a different stage of development, of anger, with the particular form of government under which they labour. In the crunch the only people you can count on to support you are those who suffer the same conditions as you. If you cannot count on your fellow country-people, you certainly have no chance of achieving socialism.

The most important thing you can do for someone else's struggle is to fight your own. The reality of Internationalism is not some vague monolithic international revolution: it is that the local struggles around the world support each other. Thus the "internationalist nationalist".

The progressive movement must reaffirm its support for Aotearoa's sovereignty as a nation. The alternative is a capitalist government which, while being increasingly oppressive to its people, is yet increasingly impotent in the policy options it can follow. Sovereignty is certainly not the whole answer to our problems: but it is an important aspect of the structure and ownership of the economy. Without it therefore, no answer will be complete.

- Taken from the writings of CAFCA members Murray Horton and Bill Rosenberg. Edited by Alistair Shaw.

International News

Students Arrested in Indonesia

10 students from Yogyakarta were arrested on September 11 when armed troops ruthlessly attacked an anti-traffic regulations mass rally at the Bulak Sumur campus of the Uni-

versity of Gadjah Mada. The traffic regulations, mothballed for a year now, were due for implementation on September 17.

Last year, a massive public outcry against Traffic Law #14 led President Suharto to postpone its implementation. Under this law, exorbitant fines will be extracted from pedicab drivers, bus, taxi and other public transport workers, including pedestrians who violate traffic laws. Fines run as high as US\$350 for routine traffic offenses such as disobeying traffic signals, parking illegally or not wearing safety belts, US\$700 for a leaking muffler and US\$2,100 for driving without a licence.

Indonesians are protesting against this undemocratically drafted law not only because the fines are beyond the means of ordinary motorists (average income in Indonesia is US\$200 per month), but also because these laws invite more abuse from an already corrupt police force who settle traffic violations on the spot by accepting bribe money. More importantly, this law - like most laws enacted with the intent of suppressing Indonesian peoples democratic rights, was drafted and approved without due consultation with the people.

Bandh Paralyzes India

India was brought to a standstill on September 9 when a one-day Bharat Bandh (nationwide strike) jointly called by the opposition parties, trade unions, peasants, women and student organisations, was staged in opposition to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) - World Bank (WB) prescribed economic liberalisation policy.



Over 20 million people including bank employers, workers, peasants and students took to the streets in support of the strike. All financial institutions (including the Reserve Bank of India), major industries, educational institutions, transportation facilities and shops in major cities, including New Delhi, were closed down.

Arch-reactionary Hindu fundamentalist forces joined hands with the ruling Congress Party in an attempt to foil the strike. The Indian Government left no stone unturned to frustrate the bandh. Thousands of protesters were arrested and other repressive means were employed to harass the people.

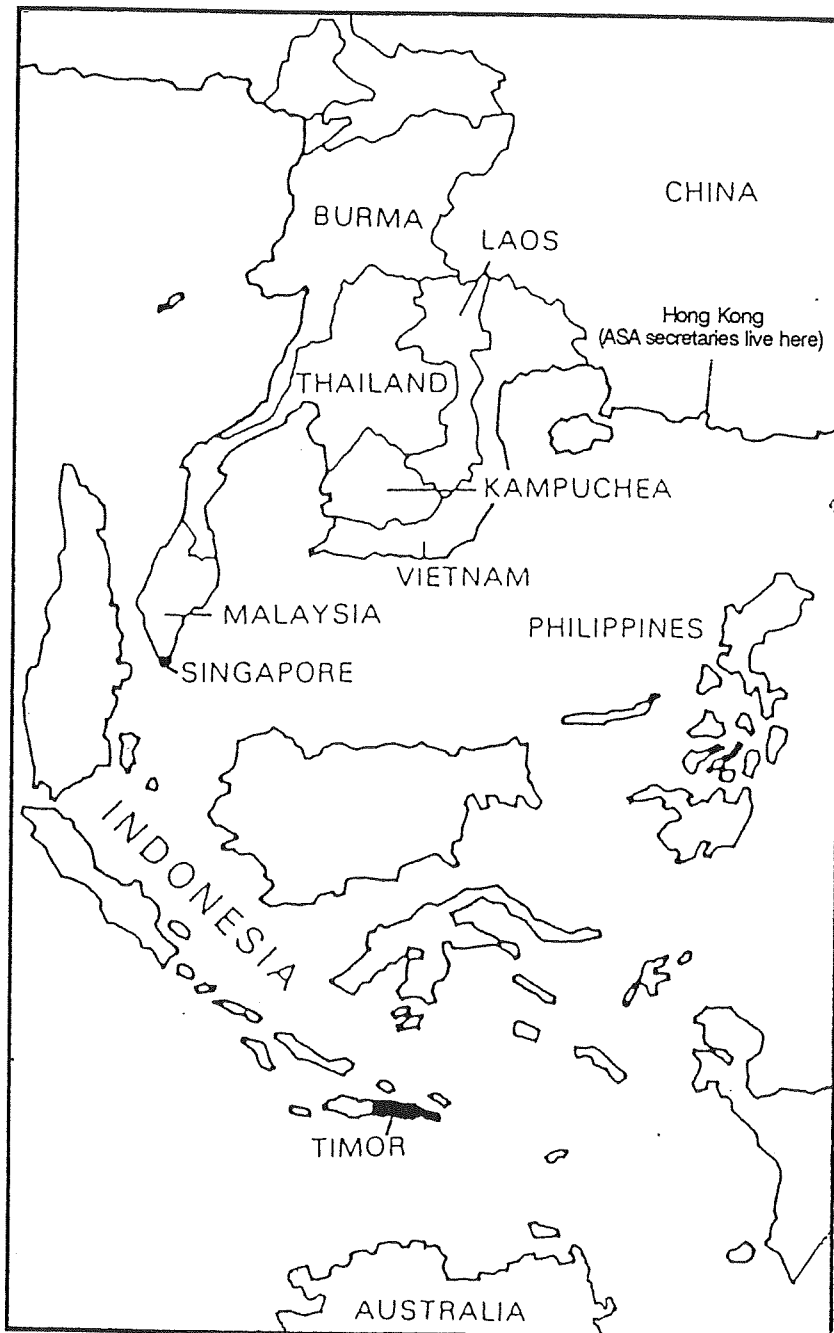
The IMF-WB privatisations scheme has created a number of grave social problems in South Asia. India alone has an annual inflation rate of 300% and meanwhile, millions of its workers have been laid off and retrenched, students have dropped out of schools due to the high cost of education and thousands of indigenous peoples have lost their land to mega-projects. India's increasing dependence of foreign powers has further facilitated the incursion of multi-national companies.

The bandh generated a national polarisation of Indian society. It was the first time that anti-communal political parties and peoples' organisations in India came together in a joint campaign against communal fascism and foreign domination.

- Source: Asian Students' Association Movement News, September 1993.

EAST TIMOR

Colonizing a Colony



Not every occupied country receives the attention like that of Kuwait. East Timor is one example, despite the fact that over 200,000 people have died due to the Indonesian invasion.

Currently there is an international campaign on East Timor which ASA is participating. This campaign is initiated by a number of organizations and individuals like the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) and Noam Chomsky.

In this article, Lina Cabaero seeks to illuminate the hidden facts of East Timor.

The Land, The People

East Timor is part of the Timor island - one of the eastern islands of the Indonesian archipelago.

The people of East Timor are of diverse ethnic roots. There are around 550,000 East Timorese and a few thousands Chinese, Europeans and mixed origins living in East Timor today. Some 80% of East Timorese belong to the Catholic church.

Even before the Portuguese colonized East Timor, it was already well-known to Arab and Chinese traders as an excellent source of precious sandalwood. It was in 1566 when the Portuguese

set claim to the island. The Dutch came in 1613 and tussled with the Portuguese over the control of the sandalwood trade.

Later, a treaty was signed by the two colonial powers to define the imperialist boundaries between Dutch and Portuguese territories. Timor island was divided into two. The western half of the island was to become part of the Dutch colony of Indonesia whose independence was granted in 1949. The eastern half, East Timor was to remain in Portuguese hands.

The hundreds of years of Portuguese colonization were years of neglect and repression. East Timor was never developed, only a few roads were built and almost no health or education services were introduced.

Winds of Change

In 1974, a coup in Portugal brought some democratic freedom to the Timorese people for the first time, and with it came the hope that the colony might be independence and govern itself, like most other country in the region.

Three major political groups were quickly formed in East Timor: ASDT (Associacao Social Democratica de Timor), the most radical of the three which calls for independence and rejection of colonialism; UDT (Uniao Democratica Timorense) which favoured federation with Portugal, and the Apodeti (Timorese Popular Democratic Association) which supported union with Indonesia. ASDT eventually changed its name to FRETILIN in September 1974.

Among the three, FRETILIN and UDT were the most popular. The 2 political groups formed a coalition in 1975. But later on, differences in views and the handling of political issues led to the thawing of the FRETILIN-UDT coalition.

Indonesian Invasion

Three months before the invasion, East Timor was virtually administered by FRETILIN though at that time, it continued to recognize Portuguese sovereignty and repeatedly requested the Portuguese governor to return to Dili (the major city) and continue the process of decolonization, which in FRETILIN's estimation would take 5 years.

On 7 December 1975, Indonesia launched a full-scale invasion of East Timor. There are a number of reasons for the invasion.

Indonesia did not want an independent East Timor as it can be used as a base for any anti-government movements existing in the outer islands (such as Moluccas and Irian Jaya). Indonesia also fears the precedent East Timor may set for others who are fighting for independence from Indonesia's control in some parts of the country.

Indonesia envisioned a swift and decisive colonization. But they were disappointed. For even if some 60,000 people were killed by the widespread bombing and another 140,000 died of starvation, FRETILIN managed to survive.

FRETILIN, after being almost decimated in 1975 - 1979, was able to reorganize and prepare for a

Welcome to East Timor



prolonged guerilla warfare under the leadership of Xanana Gusmao in 1981.

Inside East Timor

Indonesia's unlawful occupation of East Timor has denied the Timorese people of their most basic human right, the right to self-determination.

The East Timorese people are virtual prisoners, denied of the right to live in their own land. They are denied the right to travel inside and outside their own country. Social gatherings are viewed with suspicion, the right to assemble, associate and expression are non-existent.

In the late 70s, almost all of the people were forced to leave their traditional lands to live in resettlement villages. This way they can be controlled, their movements monitored, and contact with the guerrillas lessened. As a result, there was widespread famine.

The East Timorese people are also being culturally exterminated. Indonesia wants the total assimilation of East Timor, therefore it exerts a lot of effort in effecting means of erasing any trace of Timorese identity.

The Indonesian language is the medium of instruction in the schools and the use of indigenous or Portuguese languages invites harsh punishment. Indonesia is also trying to depopulate East Timor by bringing in more Indonesians.

Atrocious acts continue to be committed by Indonesian troops. Women are reported to have been killed very slowly by stabbing with sharp knives. Others have died of hunger, starvation, illness or

FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS

The Case of the United States

Major Western governments, especially Australia and the US know what has been happening in East Timor. Yet they supported the cover-up engineered by Indonesia, and tried to keep East Timor out of the United Nations' agenda.

East Timor was invaded with US' full knowledge and support. In a US State Department report, it was mentioned that 90% of the weapons used by the Indonesian armed forces when East Timor was invaded were provided by the United States. It is also known that then President Ford and Henry Kissinger met Suharto less than 48 hours before the Indonesian invasion. US military aid to Indonesia was increased after the invasion.

The United Nations Security Council passed 2 resolutions deploring the Indonesian invasion. However, the United States successfully lobbied to prevent the UN from taking any action to enforce them (in contrast to Kuwait). Indonesia, afterall, is very important to the US.

The Indonesia military junta is fervently anti-communist. They came to power in a bloody coup supported by the CIA in which 1 million Indonesians, suspected to be communists were massacred. Indonesia also offers raw materials, profitable business opportunities and occupies a strategic position in the seas linking the Pacific and Indian oceans.

The Case of Australia

During World War II, the whole of Timor island was occupied by the Japanese. Australia, wanting to arrest the advance of the Japanese to its territory sent a bunch of commandos to train the Timorese to fight a guerilla war against the Japanese. About 40,000 Timorese were killed in that war.

While in the past East Timorese people sacrificed their lives so that the Japanese Imperial Army would not further advance to Darwin, the Australian government of today has not only ignored the East Timorese people's rightful claim to their own land, but has instead cooperated with Indonesia on a project which would further exploit the Timorese seabed.

Aside from selling arms to Indonesia (which the Suharto government in turn uses to kill the Timorese people and stifle dissent inside Indonesia), Australia signed a treaty with Indonesia in 1989 for the joint development of oil and gas reserves in the Timor Sea. The treaty was recently ratified by the both, the Indonesian and Australian parliaments.

Australia first negotiated a Timor seabed deal with Portugal in 1974. But talks broke down. Australia was well aware of Indonesia's plan to invade East Timor but kept its mouth shut. Its ambassador to Indonesia advised that negotiations over the Timor seabed will be easier with Indonesians rather than with Portugal or an independent Timor.

In early 1992, leading multinationals with licenses from the Australian and Indonesian governments will start exploration in East Timor's offshore water. It is believed that the Kelp (a geological structure submerged beneath the disputed waters between Australia and Timor) could hold 500 million to 5 billion barrels of oil, and 50,000 billion cubic feet of natural gas.



Students in East Timor demonstrating against the visit of the US ambassador to Indonesia, John Morjo in Dili, 1990 (Photo by Jenny Groves).

burnt to death and shot during encounters with Indonesian army. Yet, the East Timorese people persist to struggle.

Time for Action

The independence of Namibia in 1990 after a guerilla struggle of over 40 years and a very active campaign in the United Nations is a strong reminder that the length of struggle does not erode the principles of self-determination.

In 1982, the UN General Assembly Resolution 37/30 asked the Secretary-General to "initiate consultations with all parties concerned with a view of exploring avenues and achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problems".

In 1986, the UDT and FRETILIN formed the Nationalist Convergence based on the struggle for self-determination and independence. They have consistently thwarted Indonesia's design to remove the East Timor agenda from the international limelight.

The Timorese independence forces want negotiations with Indonesia and have called for free elections and a referendum, under UN sponsorship, to determine East Timor's future. East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmao has stated his willingness to negotiate, without pre-conditions, under the auspices of the United Nations.

It is Indonesia which needs convincing. Indonesia must take note that, especially after the Iraq-Kuwaiti scuffle, the international community is more sensitive today on the issue of self-determination.

It must also take note of the fact that East Timor is no longer a hush-hush topic inside Indonesia and is becoming an issue of great concern amongst a large number of Indonesians who are opposed to Indonesia's military regime.

Talks, which hopefully lead to a just settlement, are important and crucial at this time. There has been so much suffering, so much lives wasted, too much tears shed. The East Timorese people deserve to be given self-determination.

Beyond the Network

The founding of the Aotearoa Youth Network is an important part of the development of the Progressive Movement in New Zealand. The contribution of Youth in 1993 has been visible, challenging and vital, in forestry blockades, at the Peace Power Politics Conference, in the Education Campaign, and in most movements and organisations throughout the country.

AYN is a positive step, because it acts to link young people, giving us our own voice and our own perspective. AYN has a growing profile amongst the progressive "community", and is expanding. There is much to be done in order to improve the Network. We need especially to expand the mailing list. After reaching over 300, it has dropped to over 50 after we were forced to charge subscriptions to the magazine. We should be aiming to build the list back to 300 in 1994. And we need to make AYN happen locally, acting to bring young people together for events, discussions and actions.

But I believe that we need to go beyond simply networking. The advantage of AYN is that it provides a common meeting place for us to work together on common goals, a place to advertise and give exposure to our goals, and a place for those who are just getting involved to "look around" and to find out what they believe in. The disadvantage is that in order for AYN to continue to provide this, it must remain formally "neutral" on issues, taking no sides and initiating no action, except one of exposure.

If we are to really change society, we need the ability to initiate organisation and action. We need our own organisations, with our own agendas, our own perspectives and our own ways of working. In some places "youth", or more realistically student progressive groups. Many of these operate from Environmental,

Feminist, or Socialist perspectives. I feel that while all have their strengths, all are also lacking (not that any group can be perfect!). As well as the groups that already exist, and organisations that are formed around "single" issues or perspectives, I feel that we need a centre of unity, based on real agreement and action. I believe that young people have a vital role to play within society and the progressive movement as youth, with our own responses to problems, and our own standing. Internationally, the actions of the youth have created spaces for other sectors to operate within, have led the way in some campaigns, and have provided many organisers and activists.

I think that we need to develop our own Youth Movement. In order to do this, we need to go beyond the Network. We should be forming AYN groups wherever possible in order to network effectively (as Wellington and Palmerston North have just started). And then we should use that experience and process to form groups which can take positions, can take sides, and can build campaigns for change.

- Joss Debreceeny

Union News

While the National Government continues to claim that the Employment Contracts Act is not unfair to workers, unions continue to turn up cases of gross exploitation.

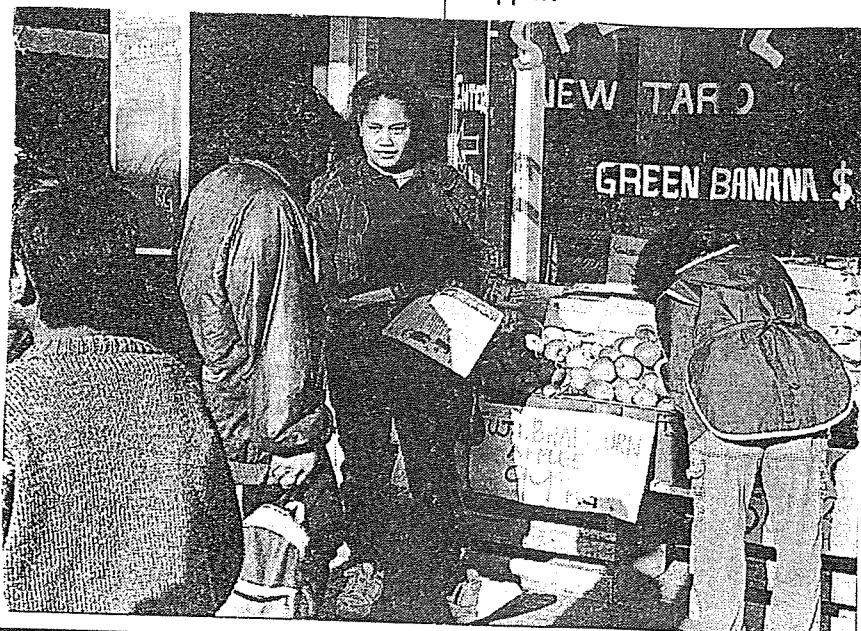
Naiti Luaoa had worked at the NZ Fresh Food Co. in Otahuhu as a shop assistant on less than \$3 an hour. She received just \$150 for a 71 hour week.

The minimum adult wage is \$6.12 an hour. It is illegal to pay less to a worker aged 20 or over. But when approached by the union, the shop owners were not prepared to make up the difference in wages.

After working unsuccessfully for several months to negotiate a settlement, the union took the streets, with Naiti and an organiser picketing the shop, leafleting shoppers and asking them not to shop there.

After one days picketing, the company agreed to settle. During the boycott, support from passers by was very good, and trading was very slow.

Below: Naiti hands a leaflet explaining the situation to a passing shopper.



Shoppers leave town in support of Strike.

The people of Kaikohe are leaving town to support picketing workers at the town's New World supermarket.

Buses put on to transport locals to nearby Kerikeri have been very busy at the community goes to extra distance to avoid crossing the workers' picket line.

The strike is in support of contract claims.

The buses have run for several weeks now and have established a schedule of stops between the northern towns to pick up shoppers. Finance for the free bus transport has come partly from donations.

Kerikeri has a Price Chopper supermarket which as part of the Woolworths / Big Fresh chain is covered by a national union negotiated collective employment contract. Further support from the community has come in the form of a 1600 signature and a march up the main street.

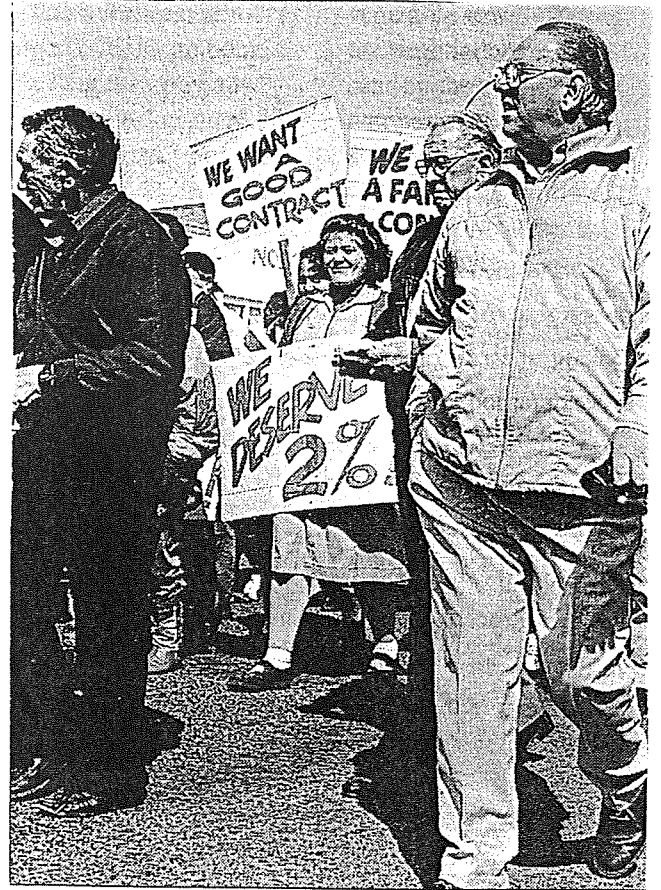
In what was a rare event for Kaikohe 100 plus marchers rallied in front of the Supermarket on September 7. There they were

welcomed by local Maori including prominent Kaumatua. (ex) Northern Maori MP Bruce Gregory addressed the rally. Mr Gregory spoke of the "just cause" of the picketers. National Distribution Union President Bill Andersen made the point that the economy of Kaikohe would not improve if wage and benefit levels were allowed to fall.

The union has met with the management on several occasions but despite the union's willingness to come to a negotiated settlement the boss, Bernie McGinty, has not been prepared to make an acceptable offer.

A boycott of the same supermarket in 1991 also saw a lengthy union presence outside the store before a resolution was achieved.

Source: Union Express, November 1993 (magazine of the National



TOP RIGHT: Marchers are welcomed outside the New World Supermarket. ABOVE: NDU President Bill Anderson marches with Organiser Trevor Noel.

Distribution Union).

Where now for Trade Unions?

I believe that Unions should be organisations of and for workers, existing to increase the power of workers in the workplace and society as a whole. In this regard I am an Industrial Dinosaur.

I believe that Unions should be independent of employer, government or political party control and should be democratically controlled by their members.

Unions should not be businesses, Unions should not be industrial insurance companies, Unions should have members, not "clients".

This is not to say that negotiating wages and conditions should be the only role of Unions. It is important that Unions play a wider, political role in society.

But let us always remember that it is for their members that Unions exist. And let's not confuse the actual or perceived power that Union leaders or officials may hold with members or workers power. A Union leader with his or her hands on the levers of power will not give any power to workers unless that leader is following the wishes and direction of an actively organised and democratic

Union Movement.

As openings may arise in the new political situation, let's always ask ourselves if what we are doing is for the benefit of workers, or is it for the benefit of our own personal power. And, more importantly, let's ask this question not just of ourselves but of the people that we claim to represent. And let's listen to their reply!!

But what specifically should Unions do over the next few weeks and months? I believe that we have to develop a response on 3 levels.

First we must use this opportunity

to strengthen the movement, which is in a very weak state today. Coming from a system of almost guarantee union membership to the harsh reality of the Employment Contracts Act (ECA) has put our movement in a tenuous situation. Sure there are pockets of strength, but what use is big site or big company unionism where perhaps only 25% of the workforce is organised when the rest of the class is suffering from severe hardship and repression. We must make an all-out effort to ensure that our class is not divided into the haves and have-nots such as in the US or Japan.

We must strengthen our own organisations, paying much more attention to genuine basic awareness and understanding of workers. We must be far more systematic in trying to organise the unorganised. We must provide far more entry points for non-unionised workers seeking support from the Union movement. It is criminal today that one Union in particular is spending so many resources trying to poach the organised instead of organising the unorganised.

We need much more inter-Union co-operation to bring unions out from their isolation of the past into the position of having wide community support. We must ensure that workers in small towns and small workplaces receive adequate support.

Second, we must continue to propagate a working class programme at every opportunity. We must not "talk ourselves down" to "realistic positions". In this market economy we must develop a "shopping list" otherwise we might find that we have

bought the wrong product! We owe it to our members and the class to continually advocate policies that will be for their benefit, even if our detractors tell us that such policies are "not realistic", "not in the real world" or not "financially sustainable".

Lets take a leaf out of the advocacy approach of the Business Round Table. They always put forward "unrealistic" and "unachievable" demands. They are always "disappointed" when the Govt fails to implement their full programme. But they always know that if they keep up their pressure yesterday's "unrealistic" demands may become tomorrow's Govt Policy.

For some bizarre reason we seem to believe that the trade union movement has to be "realistic" within the logic of capital and then "sell" to its membership the result of whatever we can gain for our members and the class in any situation.

The Labour Party's "five points" are a good start as are their demands for a stop to the housing corp rental increase. But we need to raise demands to test the sincerity of the political parties in the proposals that they make. One example of this is the so-called commitment by all parties to "do something" about unemployment.

I also believe that unemployment is the most important issue that must be tackled in this country. So lets start at the top. Let's first demand that under the Reserve Bank Act the new Govt by order in council change the "objective" of monetary policy for the Bank from "price stability" to "full employment". Then lets seek an acknowledgement from the Govt and all parties that employment generation cannot be seen as simply a passive by-product of the growth of the private sector but will require new and innovative job creation. Let's encourage and fund communities to put their local unemployed back to work doing socially useful work.

Let's start to share the work

around that is already there. It is again time to call for a shorter working week with no loss of pay.

We must campaign for an immediate increase in the minimum wage and its extension to those under 20. Lets actively campaign to have to minimum wage raised to a living wage level.

Hand in hand with this must be the demand for an immediate increase in social welfare benefits back to a level at least as good as before April 1991. Our aim must be to put food banks out of business. The 6 month stand down must be removed.

We must continue to call for the repeal of the ECA. The right and ability to collectively bargain must be strengthened. A return to previous Personal Grievance and Disputes procedures, and introduction of some form of arbitration, these are 3 areas that must be addressed.

We must continue to press for changes to ACC to bring back a scheme that is fair and equitable.

Pay equity must be put back on the agenda, not as a "women's issue", but as a key industrial, labour marker issue. I am pleased to say that this is one of the Federation's key policies.

Finally there is a commitment from our Federation to work collectively with other unions and union centres. Our goal is not one of division. In fact we have succeeded in bringing together a diverse range of Unions, most of whom were never in the CTU. We are also very pleased to see that on the initiative of 2 of our regional structures combined CTU-TUF committees now exist in Dunedin and Palmerston North.

In this age of Jurassic Park, perhaps we can create a modern industrial dinosaur that fights for the interests of the union movement and the working class as a whole.

Taken from a speech by Maxine Gay, Trade Union Federation



When War is Peace, and Vice Versa

In his essay, *Politics and the English Language*, George Orwell wrote: "Political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible. Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness. When there is a gap between real and declared aims, one turns instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms, like a cuttlefish squirting out ink."

The cuttlefish are squirting out so much ink these days that some are understandably confused. In these pages recently, Angus Roxburgh, a BBC journalist in Moscow, wondered why the word "reforms" should be reported in inverted commas. That he asks the question at all is an indication of the progress of organised obfuscation.

According to my Penguin dictionary, "reforms" are "measures intended to effect the removal or correction of an abuse". This bears no likeness to the "reforms" being imposed in Russia, which British media, with honourable exceptions, report as both necessary and a good thing. In fact these "reforms" are merely another set of abuses, the replacement of one form of totalitarianism with another. The new system is said to be a "market" economy. "Market" suggests the free movement of goods and services for all; in practice, as Russians can barely afford to eat and stay warm know well, it means the opposite.

In Britain too, such words have lost their dictionary sense and have become propaganda. "Reforms" now mean people dying on NHS waiting lists while services are destroyed. A "reformed" city of London is one which 40,000 company directors declared unfit to run a company, according to a recent report by the comptroller and auditor-general, are allowed to do so.

In the "information society" of the 1990s, the manipulation of language has become a principal political weapon. The vocabulary of the advertising and public relations industry has spread to the news management industry, known as the media. The "reforming" of British public services- that is, the pirating and destruction of them- was executed behind a pervasive advertising and PR campaign funded by public money: so pervasive that, in the late 1980s, a massive amount of advertising revenue was funded by the government.

In the news management industry, the use of euphemism is not new. But the denial of context is now unremitting. "Terrorists", a current favourite, are those who oppose the state, never the state itself. Thus the Irish are perennial "terrorists", while the British state, regardless of its enthusiastic participation in the slaughter of 200,000 people in the Gulf, is not. The atrocities committed by Irish paramilitaries can never compete with those of the state. More members of the Ulster regiment were killed on the Western Front in 1914-18 state terror than have since died in all the "terrorist outrages" in and related to Ireland.

"Human rights" is another product of the cuttlefish. The fashionable term is used by those who have no interest in its literal meaning. Last April, the foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd, assured the Indonesian tyrant, General Suharto that "Western countries cannot export western values (of human rights) to developing nations without making adjustments to local economies." Translated, this means that human rights have no relevance unless the right of international capital to exploit a nation's resources are threatened. With the right to exploit

guaranteed by Suharto, Hurd gave him 65 million pounds in British Aid and removed any obstacle to the sale of 500 million pounds worth of British Hawk Fighter planes, which will be used against those resisting the genocidal regime in Jakarta.

It was President Jimmy Carter who, in the late 1970's, popularised "Human Rights". While Carter expressed grave concern about the abuse of human rights by America's enemies, he worked assiduously to protect the right of America's clients to abuse them. While damning the Soviet Union and Iran, he gave Indonesia all the lethal means it needed to wipe out a third of the population of East Timor. So delighted were the Indonesians with this Orwellian interpretation that they adopted it themselves, claiming that by invading East Timor they were bringing "Human Rights" to the East Timorese.

In his novel *1984*, Orwell called this "reality control" and "doublethink". War became peace, and vice versa. The present day application of this excites almost no discussion in this country. This is not so in the US, where Noam Chomsky's prodigious work has demonstrated how western propaganda works. Chomsky's collaborator is Edward Herman; Their joint book, *The Manufacturing of Consent*, is a classic of its kind. Now Herman has written *Beyond Hypocrisy: de-coding the news in an age of propaganda*. Published by the Boston collective, South End Press, *Beyond Hypocrisy* deals primarily with the US, but most of it can easily be applied to Britain (or N.Z.).

Central to the modern propaganda, writes Herman, are "purr" and "snarl" words that carry implicit approval or disappointment. "Moderate", for example, is a "purr" word, and

"extremist" is a "snarl" word. Applying what Herman calls "double speak", genuine extremists like Suharto (and Yeltsin) become moderates, and a genuine moderate, like the late Salvador Allende, becomes an extremist. "Tragic" is another purr word, "barbaric" a snarl word. Thus, the shooting down of a Korean Airliner by the Soviet Union in 1983 was "barbaric", while the shooting down of an Iranian Airliner by the US in 1988 was a "tragic" error.

The Middle East, says Herman, "has yielded a cornucopia of double speak", exemplified by the term "peace process". "This endearing phrase," he writes, "tells us that the Camp David agreements were 'a good thing'. In fact, Camp David successfully pulled Egypt out of effective opposition to Israeli policies." In this way the "peace process" became an efficient war process. I would add that the peace process worked so well in Israel's favour that the Palestinians were forced to accept the current "settlement" which gives them little.

According to Herman, actual censorship plays an insignificant part in modern brainwashing. Official censors merely ensure the telling of "little lies" - such as the Ministry of Defense's rules for reporting the Gulf War - while "super lies" require no such assistance and are propagated freely and naturally by the mass media. The "super lie" of the Gulf War, as told by Bush and parroted by John Major, was that "all diplomatic options have been exhausted" and there was no alternative to war.

In *Beyond Hypocrisy*, Herman presents a wonderful "doublespeak dictionary of the 1990's". Here are selections:

Another Hitler: last year's moderate, now threatening US interests (eg, Saddam Hussein).

Crisis of Democracy: The emergence of the majority from a state of political apathy, along with their threatening attempts to understand, organise and participate in their own governance.

Democracy: A system that allows people to vote for their leaders from among a set cleared by the political investment community.

Development: Putting to profitable use; exploitation.

Fair Trade: Trade in which my own countries advantages are deemed natural, but those of other countries must be rectified by threats and unilateral retaliation.

Propaganda: Their lies.

Resturcturing: Closing down, or dramatically reducing employment.

Self-defense: Our right to attack anybody, for any reason satisfactory to ourselves.

Self-Determination: The right of a people to select a Government acceptable to us.

Truth: Emissions from the mouths of the powerful.

Victory: Annihilation

- John Pilger

Waihopai Womyn's Peace Camp

What is Waihopai?

Waihopai is a telecommunications satellite station, which is run by the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), which has an estimated budget of \$20 million a year.

Recently Peter Wills uncovered a document through the US Freedom of Information Act which confirmed what the Peace Movement has long believed - it is part of an international intelligence gathering network. Information gathered in Aotearoa is passed onto the United States.

Waihopai eavesdrops on personal communications by intercepting information via satellite and relaying it to the GCSB in Wellington.

It spies on mainly small Pacific rim countries, who are struggling for self-determination and sovereignty. This information contributes to the US dominated western intelligence network.

Why we oppose Waihopai

It is illegal. Waihopai contravenes international law by spying on people without them knowing, or having any control over what is being monitored. Few have access to the huge amounts of information which goes through Waihopai, or are even aware that it exists.

Huge amounts of money have been poured into this top-secret facility which most New Zealanders are not aware of. Waihopai was built with money provided by the Labour Government (which is ironical considering Labour was a "Nuclear Free" party) in 1988 - at an estimated cost of \$25 million, and has a current maintenance costs which runs into millions. This money can be better spent on more

important things like the provision of health, education, welfare or housing services.

Waihopai ties us into military alliances, which we supposedly left with the demise of ANZUS.

Not only does it undermine our personal sovereignty, but it undermines independence movements in the Pacific and entrenches the hierarchies of larger powers over small, developing countries.

Why a Womyn's Action?

We see a womyn's action as necessary, because not only do we want to challenge the base and what it represents, but we want to discuss issues of importance to women. We believe that all issues are interlinked, and we can not discuss peace issues without examining other things which affect women. Pornography, for example, permeates men's attitudes and behaviour towards women and is in itself a form of violence.

A common perception in the peace movement is that the movement must be focused primarily on war, ie. the arms trade, militarism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. A more comprehensive analysis is the inclusion of domestic violence, sexism, heterosexism and racism as valid peace issues.

Women's roles within the peace movement are often not taken seriously - they are often seen as nurturers, care-givers and mothering types. This stands in direct contrast with the true contribution of women to the peace movement in Aotearoa and throughout the World. Women have been involved at Waihopai, among other places, in direct and committed action against patriarchal institutions.

We want to challenge the myths which endorse attitudes of heterosexism and biological determinism at our peace camp and find a definition of peace that validates our analysis and our experiences.

We see this womyn's camp as part of a tradition of womyn's peace action throughout the world. We want to empower other women to take action against the base and work towards peace.

Origins

The Women's Peace Camp is happening from December 30th to January 7th. The idea has grown out of a womyn's action and celebration at last year's Waihopai Peace Camp. We feel it is time again to show our disapproval of the Spy Base, of spy base operations and of the continued waste of money and resources on military spending. Over the past few years, Waihopai and spy bases throughout Aotearoa have dropped out of the public eye. For many the first Womyn's Waihopai Peace Camp is a forgotten or distant memory. As many of us listened with pride around the camp-fire at last year's peace camp, and heard the stories of the original Waihopai womyn it became apparent that it was time to act again; to carry on what they had started, to learn, educate and become active. SO the second Waihopai womyn's peace camp was born.

We are hoping that the camp will put the spy base question back into the public eye.

Our focus is of action towards the base, to express our disapproval of its existence, and of our wish for it to be shut down. Just as importantly though, it is a time for heaps of different womyn with a common

goal to get together - to talk, learn, listen, play, sing, laugh and get to know lots of other women.

AS organisers, we have many ideas of actions and other things we wish to do at Waihopai; but we feel that it is important the every woman has an input on what is going to happen. We would like to start the camp with a group meeting on Thursday (December 30) evening, and then a meeting each day, so that everyone can be involved and we can plan actions and evaluate what we have been doing.

The meetings are also useful to find out what each womyn wants to achieve and be involved in, knowing that looking after children and the camp, relaxing and having fun is important - not everyone has to or wants to be involved in the actions.

Because we are expecting a diverse group of women, we recognise, and respect, caucusing within different groups such as lesbian, Maori, older women, mothers, differently abled wimmin, and so on.

This camp is a chance for all womyn to be involute and to show our disapproval of the militaristic world we live in. It is also a chance to be active, to learn and to meet new women. We want to welcome all women.

Cost

We have got a limited amount of money to cover the cost of some food and equipment, but we still need to ask for \$15 (or \$20 if you can afford more) because we need to pay for lots of other expenses.

Site

We are staying near the Waihopai river, at the camp-site which was the location of last year's peace camp. It is within walking distance of the base and is surrounded by lots of glorious green flowering

things. The river is really beautiful, remember to bring stuff to make a raft if you can, for the New Year's raft race. You'll need to bring a tent, and the usual camping equipment; we'll be hiring a Portallo.

Food

We will be supplying morning and nightly meals which will be yummiy vegan, cooked over a communal camp-fire. Please bring enough food for other meals and scroggin and stuff like that. Remember to bring some yummy goodies for a cool and joyous New Year's wimmins celebration.

Cool things to bring

Bring cool musicmaking things like drums, guitars, your beautiful voices and other thing you feel are necessary - hacky sacks, juggling balls, face paint, knitting, crochet, drawing stuff.

Protest equipment, like sheets, paints, brushes, chants, paper and flour for paper mache, whistles, etc.

Actions

The reason and focus for the camp is because we are opposed to the spy base - we want to do some sort of action every day. The camp is just as importantly a time for wimmin to meet and share ideas, but we should, 't forget the reason we're gathered at Waihopai is because we object to spybases existing at all.

Childcare

We encourage wimmin to bring their daughters and young sons, if they want or need to. We would like to see the responsibility for childcare being a communal things, ie everyone takes part - this can all be discussed at the first meeting. Childcare in an undervalued skill in our society and this and the maintenance of the camp are just as important as

the actions against the base. Thus it is important that people rotate and share childcare responsibilities. While we affirm the right of everyone womyn to have the freedom to take her children wherever she wants, and children are welcome, this is women's space.

Other Issues

People have voiced concern about the use of alcohol and drugs at the camp. One of the basic elements of the wimmin's camp is trust and respect for each other, and for each others views and belief. Therefore, we think it is important to provide a space for women who do not want to drink, and don't want to be around those who are. At the same time, we do not think it is our palace to tell people how to behave, or what to do, because as cool wimmin we are all responsible for our own actions, and realise this. It is also important that we respect the land that we are staying on.

Conclusion

So start thinking about what you want to do, talk about, see happen at Waihopai, start discussing ideas with people you know will be there, and formulate possibilities for protest.

Remember that you will need lots of different things, like sunscreen, warm cloths, first aid kits, itchy bite stuff, and songs, and chants if you can get hold of any.

If you have any ideas, queries, or things that you would like to let us know about, then write to us.

Kia kaha, from the Waihopai women's camp organisers.

Box 101, Tai Tapu, Christchurch.

Issue 7 has been produced from Auckland this time (by some of those who usually do it in Dunedin), thanks to those in Wellington who helped out. Next year we would like to move the newsletter around the country from time to time to get different styles / perspectives. Get in touch with us if you're interested.

Subscription Rates:	Waged	\$18	Send articles, letters, love, kisses, etc. to
	Unwaged	\$9	AYN
	Organisations	\$25	C/- the Web Resource Centre
	Institutions	\$50	111 Moray Place
			Dunedin

This newsletter will still be sent to anyone who can't afford to pay: just write to us and let us know. Donations beyond the above rates from people who can afford them are welcomed, to help pay for those who can't (Collectivism in action!).
Love from Auckland, Joss and Cybele.

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What's Coming Up?

Waihopai: Women's Camp:
30 December - 7 January at the Spy Base.
Contact Billie-Jo or Cathy at 60 Winton St.
Christchurch or Phone (03) 379-4205, or
Maria at 56 Holloway Rd., Wellington for
details.

General Camp:
28 January (6pm) to 30 January. Contact the
Anti-Bases Campaign, PO Box 2258,
Christchurch.

For both camps you will need to be fairly
self-sufficient so bring camping and protest
gear.

AYN Training Camp? Proposed for May
holidays. Write to us with ideas / suggestions
of what it could include.

Aotearoa Youth Network
111 Moray Place
Dunedin

AYN